511 most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of over-population China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

511 182 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintegrating under manifold pressures. In prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

178 Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occured in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

527 262 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family and a special study is devoted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

[Footnote No. 1 cont'd.] "...acres are actually in crops.

2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p. 111.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF15

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262 The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In a northern province such as Shantung, chiao-tzu, meat dumplings, are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao, "year cakes," figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts, and, for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

221 The regular work of the agricultural year beings immediately after the New Year. In Shantung the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops: wheat, millet, kaoliang. From the Yangtze valley south through the East China Region, the year is phased by the steps in wet rice cultivation. In early spring, the Shantung farmer begins his year-long effort to conserve moisture that has accumulated in the soil during authumn and winter rains. About half the fields are then in winter fallow awaiting the spring

1; Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China AF15

221 651 the work of all available hands and are done with primitive implements. The harvest in, the farmer must deal with the tax collector and then ready his fields for the winter crops; in some parts of the East China Region, this may be winter wheat and rape; in others, two rice crops are produced in a single agricultural year. The rice farmer like the wheat farmer in the north, uses the winter to work on tools, handicrafts, and repairs, and the women of his family may carry forward their raising of silkworms and the spinning and weaving of silk. In other areas tea is an important supplement to rice agriculture, [5] and fishing is a full or part-time activity of about a quarter of a million people in Chekiang and Fukien. [6]

527 769 The farm year, toilsome in north and south alike, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Also like the Western Easter, it was once a Spring fertility festival. On this occasion the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated. Families often take picnics to the family or clan graveyard, make food offerings to the dead, sweep the graveyards, and then enjoy their feast. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work. [7]

5. On agricultural year-cycle, see excellent description in Gerald Winfield, China, The Land and the People, New York 1948, pp. 34-61.

6. Cf. Geo. B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, New York, 1955, p. 127.

7. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-127.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF15

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On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[8] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than sual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient stateman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, usually in late August, is the feast of souls the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. The salute to all the dead takes the form of floating paper boats with lanterns in them on some body of water, symbolizing the communities' concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many pay visits to a nearby temple and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. In this festival, too, special food

8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

527 is prepared for the dead and for the living, and
769 the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[9]

The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to near-by mountains.[10]

These are the festivals that have continued to have the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which they have allowed to survive.

527 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. A wedding meant for those who could afford it a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families made every effort to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were

9. Eberhard op. cit., pp. 129-33.
10. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

527 played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals, and the like. In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays but these were little observed by the farm villages.

217 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, there were activities which interested some of the villagers and helped to vary their lives. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller spinning out his tales to the villagers was often seen. The election of a headman for the village often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. Perhaps the most universal recreation was as in all illiterate communities gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops, the iniquity of the government local disputes, and on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving
156 fellow villagers. Despite the grim struggle for survival the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting with a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination that, despite all, the fortunes of his family might steadily improve

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the

369 villages. Town and citydwellers -- perhaps 20% of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages. returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return [162] to the village.[11] The town population, then. was mostly made up of artisans and peasants plus a small number of landlords retired officials county functionaries and established merchant [634] families. The county seats (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax collection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

369 511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as that of his relatives in the village. Long hours hard work low pay. few holidays were the lot of most and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those [466] in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises [262] so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals vegetables, and some condiments and meat and fruit on 369 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year the Ch'ing-ming festival. the 527 mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps

11. Cf. Cressey. Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26% of the Mainland population. Ibid., p. 18. [p.216]

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF15

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527 visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was then closely linked with village life. But in the provincial capitals such as Tsinan, Nanking, and Foochow, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities major industries built large dormitories for workers labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the East China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile, as compared with 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[12]
[466] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[13] but their traditional holidays were shortened without in most cases
527 the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded
369 cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays -- although

12. Winfield op. cit. p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

13. Lang op. cit., pp. 88-89.

527 369 national holidays were increasingly observed -- and like the town dwellers city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place 515 369 was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals passports and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through assosi ation with an insurance against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong even between the large modern cities and the farm villages. The ways of life tended increasingly to diverge yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which even when change has been accounted for held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases -- all give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in

668 369 wishes for long life, happines, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[23] The government may allow some additional foods for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can be no longer restricted entirely to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire. Traveling troupes brought dramas to the villages, and 1500 film projecting teams moved into the countryside. The cadres organized "cultural lectures" for the rural groups. The old exchange of visits with relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[24]

668 369 788 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company, to some famous shrine also has its Communist counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native villages, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[25] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[26]

668 529 Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races

23. Cf. collection of mottoes in Hua-nan t'ung-shu [South China Almanac] Canton, 1953, p. 32.
24. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23 1955, p. 2.
25. Ibid. 26. Ibid., Also, SCMP972, 1954 p. 21.

668 527 have been revivied, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, nov a "People's hero martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[27] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communist and of the World Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year but they may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen that the pattern of living in the villages has been drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern is precisely what the government and the Party permits in the interests of morale or adapts in the interests of their rural program of change and indoctrination.

III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 156 In the town and cities as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants industrial workers, are all organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guiadance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals.

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27 SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

668 156 Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[28]

City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, and through these they are given further directives on the management of their lives.[29] The townsman more than the peasant, is open to an "around the clock" propaganda barrage From the first call to early morning calisthenics the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are celebrated in the cities with great parades and with endless speeches. Privacy, the chance to be at ease with family or friends, are both rare.

668 527 The New Year's holiday has some of its old gaiety, although within the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, as they appear to do at the mid-Autumn and Dragon Boat Festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[30] New Year's activities in East China

28. Rostow, op. cit. p. 160.

29. "Urban Organizations," Current Background 310, Jan. 17 1955. "Regulations of--"

30. [See following page.]

668 527 in 1955 suggest the way in which all public celebrations of the festival are made to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, along the East China coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan I-chiang-shan Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must Be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and dance troupes performed at thirty factories.[31]

668 565 Cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers the favored class

30. [continued] Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955 p. 2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from the cities in 1955 the Ministry of Railways estimated that "Over three and a half million more people will travel than on normal days mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19, 1955; SCMP, 972 Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

31. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955. SCMP, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

746 As to urban unemployment, Shanghai in East China was most seriously affected among the large cities on the Mainland. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions published an open letter to all its members on April 20, 1950 on the need of relief for the unemployed in Shanghai and other cities. It estimated that there were 150,000 unemployed, jeapordizing the livilihood of 500,000 workers and family dependants. In addition to other common causes for unemployment, East China, particularly the Shanghai area, had suffered bombardment by the Nationalist air force in the early days of the Communist regime. The Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions, called on all employed workers to contribute one day's pay for the relief of unemployed families.[28] At a work relief conference in Peking called by the Department of Labor in April 1954, it was reported that from July 1950 to the end of 1953 the Labor Bureau of the Shanghai People's Government had obtained work for 256,200 people.[29]

V. CHILD WELFARE

• 527 858 In 1931, following the international practice of dedicating one day in the year to the children, April fourth was promulgated as China's Children's Day by the Nationalist Government.

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28. New China Monthly, Vol. II, No. 1, May 15, 1950, pp. 64-65.

29. Ibid., No. 5, May 1954, pp. 157-58.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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527 858 The Chinese Communist regime changed this date to June 1st, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation in 1949 at Moscow.[30] Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as "capitalistic," i.e., not designed for the well-being of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1st every year, all the propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the happy state of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and derogatory references to the "plight" of children in the free nations. And it is also around this time in most large cities on the mainland of China that health examinations for children are conducted. In the period 1950-52, according to one report, more than 1,000,000 children throughout China received health examinations.[31]

In preparation for International Children's Day in 1952, the Shanghai Municipality gave a special broadcast. Two hundred children's delegates were present at the broadcast, and 268 listening units were organized with some 52,000 young listeners. The mayor of Shanghai,

30. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [History of the Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, i, pp. 180-83.

31. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, May 30, 1953, p. 3.

527 as the chief speaker, exhorted the children to
858 cultivate strong bodies, to master the Chinese language, to study science, and to love the fatherland and chairman Mao. On the evening there was a campfire gathering of some 6,000 children with a number of government and political leaders, fighting heroes, labor models, scientists, and artists as guests. On this occasion, there was a meeting of young scientists at the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a health exhibit in the Municipal Children's Health Center. The New China Bookstore offered a special ten per cent discount on all children's books.[32]

744 A mid-year report in 1952 on the progress of child welfare and related work in East China since 1950 claimed that 160 health centers, stations, and mobile teams for women and children had been established and over 10,000 midwives trained or re-educated. In the same period, according to the report, about 19,000,000 children were vaccinated against smallpox and 70,000 were given B.C.G. shots. Several million people were said to have visited the 46 health exhibits for women and children held in
747 East China. The report further claimed that 5,000 creches had been organized in the rural

32. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, June 2, 1952, p. 1.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

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The boatmen on these waterways usually refuse to load or unload rice when it is raining (whether out of regard for their own safety or for that of their cargo is not clear), and the flow of rice to Shanghai stops almost entirely whenever it rains. The Shanghai rice market, including foreign and out-province rice, reacts with great sensitivity to the rain situation in the city, price changes for rice from all sources often following changes in the weather as closely as an hour.* The role of the weather in the Shanghai rice market as a whole underscores the fact that local sources of rice hold the commanding position, and that the rice moves to the city largely by boat. The monthly reports on the rice market refer repeatedly to water transport connecting Shanghai with the rice-producing areas of south central Kiangsu, but very little mention is made of railway transport of rice during the entire period 1920–1936. Highway transport of rice is not mentioned at all. The dominance of water is so marked that these monthly reports lay great stress on the weather, and conclude in one case that "Rain and wind make a great difference to the rice merchant's heart."[18]

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4. Traditional festivals, especially the Chinese New Year (a lunar festival occurring as a rule in early February). Their effects may be summarized as follows: a. since the New Year is the time for settling of accounts as well as for feasting, the farmers need cash and sell their rice; the price falls as a result at the beginning of the festival period; b. however, the holiday on the farms decreases the amount of rice collected and transported to inland centers as the festival continues, thus counterbalancing the earlier selling; c. banditry resulting from inability to pay debts slows or stops move-

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market on an average of ten or twelve times a year, principally from March through July.

* According to records kept by the Public Works Department of the International Settlement at Shanghai (printed each year in the Annual Reports of the Municipal Council from 1920 to 1939), rainy days occurred in the city from 1920 to 1939 on an average as follows:

	Jan.	*Feb.*	*Mar.*	*Apr.*	*May*	*June*	*July*	*Aug.*	*Sept.*	*Oct.*	*Nov.*	*Dec.*
Number of days on which some rain fell	3	4	6	6	8	14	7	5	5	4	4	1
Number of days with rain continuously 6 A.M.-6 P.M.	1	2	4	4	5	8	4	3	3	2	1	1

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

ment of rice by water to Shanghai. This last has the greatest effect on the rice market. In general, the Shanghai price of rice tends to rise at New Year about 5 per cent and at other festival times a little less. The above effects of festival periods also demonstrate the leading position of local rice supplies, since the entire Shanghai rice market (including the price of foreign rice imports) reacts at these times to purely local festival activities. Local rice being in short supply, foreign rice is at a premium.

5. Civil disturbances. Movement of local rice to Shanghai is notably interfered with during periods of local unrest, especially when troop movements occur. The boatmen fear commandeering of their boats and expropriation of the cargoes. This was a frequent occurrence during the unsettled political period of the late 1920's, and later during the Japanese attacks on Shanghai in 1932 and 1937, as well presumably as the wartime period and the large-scale civil war which shortly followed it. Civil order has unfortunately not been the rule in this area during the past thirty years. In October 1926, despite an excellent harvest just gathered, large amounts of rice already in storage in Shanghai and the accumulated demand in the city after the mid-autumn festival, a local uprising in Chekiang and troop movements connected with it in Kiangsu brought water transport to a complete halt in the delta south and west of Soochow. As a result, the Shanghai price of rice nearly doubled instead of falling as it otherwise would have done. The railways to Hangchow and Nanking were kept open during the entire period. In this case the rice supply situation was eased by shipments on special order from Tsingpu, Sungchiang, and other nearby areas removed from the trouble.*

* Rice was stored both in Shanghai and in the collection centers in the local producing areas. However, the Shanghai rice market was very sensitive to day-to-day changes in the supply arriving from the local areas. This suggests that relatively small amounts of rice were stored in Shanghai, and that the market depended on regular shipments. When these were interfered with, it was not possible for the Shanghai rice merchants to keep the Shanghai price from rising, since orders for foreign rice could not normally be delivered in less than two weeks. The hiatus in local supplies during the planting season was of course anticipated by the Shanghai merchants in the form of advance orders for foreign rice which were delivered during May and June, but even so the price of rice rose during this period, as indicated above, further evidence that the market was dominated by local supplies moving regularly to the city during most of the year.